

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

* 15th Summit Conference
of The OAU Heads of States.

- * Leading Role of The Party And The Social Organisations.
- * A Contribution to The Somali Theatre.
- * Class Struggle: A Motive Force of Development.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better



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CENTRAL COMMITTEE
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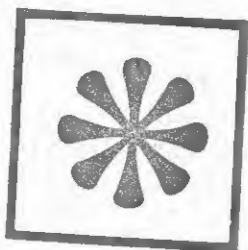
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EDITORIAL

The out come of the Recent OAU conference

At about the end of last year and the beginning of the current one, there was a lot of talk about the various problems besetting different regions of the African continent, and for which solutions as yet have not been found. It was the great hope of most Africans that the Heads of States and Governments at their summit meeting, held in khartoum last july would at last find solutions for the pressing questions, amongst which the following are of utmost importance:

- 1) The Horn of Africa question.
- 2) The question of Southern Africa.
- 3) The case of Chad.
- 4) The case of Western Sahara.
- 5) The Foreign interference in Africa's internal Affairs.
- 6) The search for a lasting middle East peace settlement which Africa now tends to leave to the big powers and the confrontation directly concerned.

Finally the African summit was held and all the questions were given attentive consideration. The participants to the preparatory council of Ministers of the summit conference, while preparing the Agenda could not agree on the inclusion of some issue in the agenda and being unable to put forward specific recommendations they had to let the Heads of states and governments study the matters in greater depth.

This, for the first time introduced a change in the ordinary procedure that is normally followed in similar conferences. The summit meeting was made to go into detailed discussions, while in the past the council of Ministers presented matters after thorough deliberations for the approval of the Heads of states and Governments. In this Conference, the Heads of States and Governments had to formulate their own agenda and to filter through the issues to be considered at the meeting from those which did not have special urgency to be put to discussion.

The atmosphere in which the discussions occurred brought to light new approaches in regard to issues to be deliberated and the resolution of the unavoidable tensions which made itself acutely felt in this gathering: We may take example of

the issue on foreign intervention in Africa's internal affairs, as this is a fundamental question, which for sometime has receded into the background but now has ominously reappeared again thereby necessitating an exhaustive discussion by African heads of states. However the rather saddening thing is that they could not conclusively agree. This meant that the African leaders were aware of the importance of the issue and yet, while recognizing the necessity to see all foreign forces pulling out of this continent, they tended to give different interpretations to the same matter in accordance with the conditions prevailing in their respective countries or regions.

Although the discussions were conducted in this inconclusive manner, nonetheless, the leaders adopted a resolution calling for the sisterly states to consider and fulfill their responsibilities towards the continent's defence and security.

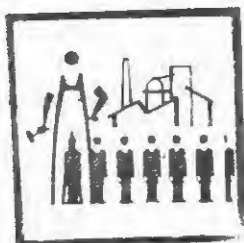
When the issue of the Horn of Africa was brought up, clearly the African leaders understood how complex the matter is. True to its character, Ethiopia tried to present the issue as a border problem between itself and Somalia. And on its side, Somalia did its best to let the African leaders gain a realistic picture of this question by showing how Ethiopia colonised the peoples in the Horn of Africa; and how these peoples embarked upon a long struggle to free themselves from Ethiopian colonial yoke. The Somali Democratic Republic pointed out that Russo-cuban intervention was consciously designed to destroy the Somali peoples right-ful aspirations through military might. Somalia for a long time has been sparing no efforts to win the world public opinion to this just cause which in essence is different from the border disputes between African States. Accordingly the SDR elaborated on the scope of the peoples struggle for independence and self-determination.

It was evident that the African leaders appreciated the gravity of issue and proposed to find a just and peaceful solution in order to prevent any possible conflict between the two neighbouring countries. They recommended, among other things, that both Somali and Ethiopian forces pull back 5 km inside their respective boundaries, and that the war preparations immediately cease. Moreover they exhorted the good offices committee to redouble its efforts to find a final and lasting peaceful solution.

What remains now for the African leaders is to courageously deal with the real roots of the whole problem i.e. The colonial nature of Ethiopia which has been subjugating the peoples of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea. Doubtlessly, Africa would have condemned Ethiopia as harshly as it condemns the colonial and racist oppression in Southern Africa if it knew the true nature of Ethiopian colonialism.

Africa will be an easy victim to naked foreign intervention which will invent all kinds of pretexts and excuses to keep our region languish under colonial oppression and suffer continuous instability.

POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS



THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS

The Somali National Liberation Movement has passed through various stages in its struggle for independence, national Unity and Social progress. The 21st October Revolution carried out by the armed forces under the leadership of Jaalle Siad signified the need for the Liberation Movement to pass into a new and higher phase necessitated by the objective historical conditions in the country.

In its first and 2nd charter, the 21 October Revolution clearly outlined the imperative need for the realisation of the peoples aspiration towards independence, Unity, the safeguarding of national Sovereignty, and social progress; and in its struggle towards these national aims, the 2nd Charter has unequivocally Stated that the Socialist ideology is the only one capable of ensuring a rapid progress and the creation of a society free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

During the 9 years of Revolutionary rule, there has been many remarkable achievements in all the spheres of our social life. The mobilisation, orientation and political education of the masses has been among the spheres where the revolution has reached particular success. The main purpose behind these measures has been to prepare the masses for a full and effective

participation in running the affairs of the State. To put this into effect, the Social organisations were established.

Commenting on this subject, the SRSP Secretary General, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, had this to say «Now the Conditions are fully Conducive to popular rule, which the Revolution has so dedicatedly been at work to realise.»

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, shouldering its responsible task of leading the Somali society, has made it clear in its 1st Congress 1.7.1976 that it would lead and organise the nation through a programme that would bring about the radical transformation of the Somali society. It is, therefore incumbent upon the SRS party to carry out the National reconstruction duties through the Socialist system, of course taking into account the specific conditions prevailing in our society. But apart from the Party's heavy responsibility to lead the people in the national development, it is also essential that there should exist a strong, harmonious and well-defined relations between the Party, the social organisations, and all the other progressive groups and elements in the Society for the fulfillment of the Party Programme, its resolution, and statute. The maintenance of a permanent link

with the masses is another essential factor towards this end, and that is why the SRS party, which is a party of the new type, stresses as one of its basic, fundamental principles the inseparable links with the working masses.

Comrade Lenin, the internationally recognised exponent of the Party of the new type, gave a precise definition of what this means, emphasising that the invincibility of the Party lies in its close links with the working people:

«To live in the very midst of the masses.

«To know their mood.

«To know every thing.

«To understand the masses.

«To be able to approach them.

«To win their absolute Confidence.

«Not to isolate the leaders from the masses who are being led, the whole army of labour».

In the same vein the SRS Party Programme also emphasises the link with the masses: «The concept that the party can fulfill everything in isolation from the masses is purely illusory and imaginative. Socialism can only be fulfilled when it enjoys the support of the masses. That

is the reason why the Party has to rely in the progressive forces, such as the workers, the youth, the women, the peasants, the nomads, the armed forces etc, in the fulfilment of its tasks and the edification of Socialism. Of course the Party's link with the masses is mainly through the mass organisations such as those of the workers, youth, Women, Cooperatives as also through its relations with the various State organs. This is how the SRS Party comes to lead the activities of the social organisations and those of the State apparatus.

Moreover, the party sets out the Political system and directs the functions of the Social organisations and enhances their roles and rights by enrolling certain of its best cadres in the Social organisations leading bodies. The importance of this is easily conceived when one puts into mind that the Party is the only Political organisation in the country solely responsible for leading, guiding and directing the duties and tasks of the social organisations and State organs.

The Liberation struggle of the Somali people has now entered upon a new phase characterised by the emergence of new phenomena in our country, the whole region around us, and the world at large. The prevailing new conditions definitely effect the revolutionary process in our country, our relations with the international forces, the leadership role of the SRS Party, the mood and morale of the Social organisations, and the other stratas of our Society. The present critical situation can only be successfully surmounted, the difficulties overcome, the re-

volutionary process enhanced, social transformation effected, reactionary forces defeated and their efforts frustrated, the unity of the Somali people consolidated, our relations with the progressive forces of the world strengthened for all these and other relevant matters associated with them it is important that the Party should, in the light of the Present precarious situation, reassess the present phase the Somali people is passing through, revise its tasks of mobilization, direction, Control, inspection, guidance and administration. A daring re-appraisal is badly needed.

Despite the fact that both the Party Programme, and its Statute are clearly outlined in the documents, yet the truth remains that quite an appreciable number seem to be as yet hardly acquainted with the contents of these documents that constitute the soul and spirit of our SRS Party. That is why it is high time that the party leadership arranged ways and means of getting in communion with the Party organs and the social organisations with the sole purpose of improving their political standard, engaging them in democratic discussion to hear their ideas and opinions giving them full rights to carry out their role independently with zest and vigour, of course with the party leadership advising them, helping and assisting them in their duties. It is felt, in this respect, that a great deal of benefit would have been derived if the Party would expedite the introduction of a clearly outlined definition on the tasks of the Party, the State, the Social organisations and their inter-relationships. A very comprehensive study of this material by the people

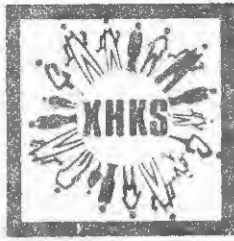
would indeed clarify a lot of matters that upto now seem to be shrouded with ambiguity. Likewise it is the duty of the social organisations and all the progressive forces in our society to diligently carry out the responsibility entrusted to them by the Party.

The social organisations are the main instruments through which the Party maintains its link with the masses. They are the reserve army of the Party. They are its best organised social force that is always ready to unconditionally implement the citations of the Secretary General of the SRS Party; Jaalle Siad, the resolution passed by the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the state Policy, the Party programme and the Party statute, and the objectives of the 21 October Revolution.

Stressing upon the relation and inter-independence between the Party and the social organisations, the Secretary General, Jaalle Siad, said the workers are «The backbone of the Revolution» and Youth are «The reserve and most militant assistant of the party».

It has been slightly more than one year since the social organisations were established. But during this short span of time, they have commendably accomplished good work by way of organisation, abidance by party directives, establishment of their regional and district branches, and participation in the national development programmes. Yet it can be safely said that a great deal more still remains to be tackled. The streamlining of their organisational activities, the cementing of their interrelations, fostering their

(See page 19)



PARTY LIFE

Report on the first session of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union central Committee

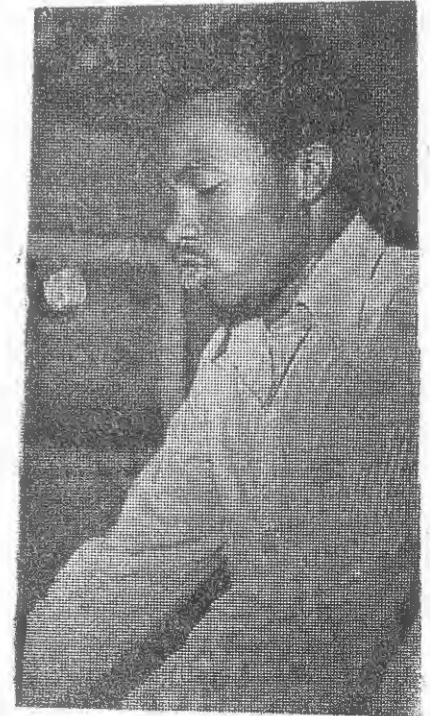
On 4-7 July 1978 a historical meeting was held here in Mogadisho in the headquarters of the SRYU. It was the first meeting of its kind in our history (This is to be subsequently elaborated). It was the first session that the SRYU'S Central committee held inasmuch as the CC carries out the already set up goals, objectives as well as the day to day matters involving youth in between the Congresses. It is to be noted here that the SRYU is not the first youth organisation of its type in our country.

Somali youth used to have its own organisations which were forerunners to the present one. Amongst the most illustrious of these youth organisations, and most deserving to remember is the Somali Youth League, established in the memorable year of 1943, which initially started as the Somali Youth club, which

ch nominally was not a political organisation. However, with regard to the SRYU thanks to the nature of its membership, form of its structure and its programme and constitution can proudly state that it is a youth organisation of a special type.

After a year and 46 day of the SRYU's establishment since 15th May 1977, its central committee has been honestly implementing the tasks entrusted to them by the founding congress; and in accordance with the central committee instructions.

After an opening ceremony officiated by Comrade Mohamed Mohmoud Warsame, the executive committee submitted a comprehensive resume of the activities accomplished with in the period of its establishment. The report of the committee was tied to the plan already set, and covered



those tasks most successfully implemented and the ones which still wait to be executed. Obviously an important aspect of the report was to pinpoint the reason for the impediments that were confronted, and at the same time discussions revolved around the new plan to be laid down.

Generally the tasks the report dealt with comprised the following:-

1. General Organisation of the Union.
2. Affairs turning on the economy and administration.
3. Training, mobilisation and consciousness raising.
4. Active participation in



the country's construction and defence.

Apart from the executive committee's general report, the regional and national university representatives of the Union delivered specific reports. All the reports transmitted were founded upon a common perspective and did not depart from the spirit the general report conveyed.

The meeting had to handle an extensive agenda which contained a programme entailing a number of activities to be embarked upon. This was due to the fact that it was the first meeting of the central committee which was delayed due to objective circumstances. Besides the union being new and inexperienced hampered its activities and diluted the high standards which it set for itself.

It also became necessary to review the Union's constitution, and to publish a supplement any a by law where necessary elucidation will be proffered. Equally the Central Committee had to review the executive Committee's membership as two vacancies had to be filled up. Additionally the Vice Chairman had to be named for the various departments of the Union. Most importantly the agenda contained a necessary plan for the work activities for the coming 6 months.

All the above points were comprehensively and democratically discussed by the central committee members, and each one expressed his/her own opinion in accordance with the principle of criticism and self-criticism.

The points of paramount

importance such as the constitution and supplementary by law were accorded serious consideration and lower committees were appointed to study them, and in the 2nd session their recommendations will be deliberated on.

The sections of the constitution dealt with cover the parts dealing with the general principles of the Union, the central executive committee's respective capacities, responsibilities devolving on the employed youth secretariat and those of the university students.

The overall review of the executive committee's membership has been agreed to be as follows:

1. Comrade Osman Warsame Salah elected Secretary of the Foreign relations department.

2. Comrade Osman Mohomoud Hashi elected Secretary for the Art and Sport Department.

3. Comrade Noor Fiki elected Secretary for the economic department.

4. Comrade Halimo Sheikh Mohomoud elected Secretary for organisation department of the Union.

In respect of Control and auditing committee the following revision has been made.

1. Comrade Ali Adan Salah, Chairman

2. Comrade Abdilaziz H. Mohamed Vice Chairman

3. Comrade Halimo Muuse Mohamoud Member

The Vice Chairman of the

various departments comprise the following:

1. Department of Union affairs — Comrade Hussein Mao

2. Organisational department — Comrade Ali Wehelie Jimale

3. Ideology Department — Comrade Abdilkadir Igal and Ahmed Mohamed Hassan.

4. Foreign relation department — Comrade Khalif Abdirahman

5. Art and Sport department — Comrade Mohamed Dahir Afrah and Mohamoud Alsow Adawe.

6. Educational department — Comrade Ibrahim Ahmed Afrah

7. Economic department — Comrade Mohamed Abokor Mayo

8. Employed Youth department — Comrade Hassan Noor Faahiye

10. Young pioneers of the Revolution. Mohamed Harako.

The first session of the SRYU central committee meeting coincided with an especially important occasion when the Somali nation was celebrating the 18th anniversary of independence, the Union of two regions of the 5 parts to which our country has been dismembered, as well as the 2nd anniversary of the SRSP's establishment.

The SRYU is undeniably an active reservoir of the SRSP's long strategic goals of transforming our society along socialistic lines, thereby the 2nd anniversary of the SRSP's

birth has particular meaning and value for the Somali Youth.

Looking at from another angle we are in a period when our nation is traversing a most difficult path, and a bitter struggle is being waged against colonialism, backwardness and the ascertainment of true sovereignty. We are in a time when imperialism and all its abettors, internally and in the world arena, our independence, unity and further advance are being subject to continuous conspiracies and subversion. Accordingly the revolutionary progressive Somali forces ought to brave themselves to foil these pernicious conspiracies and move forward to realise the noble goals of our nation's prosperity. The SRYU which indisputably counts itself as an integral part of the progressive flank of our society decided in the first session of its central committee to wage an uncompromising struggle against all forces and elements which endeavour to halt the onward march of historical progress. This inescapably necessitates a consistent fulfilment of the programme agreed upon.

Our call is addressed to revolutionary Youth whom we exhort to be ever vigilant and open eyed with regard to the changing political relations in the world arena which invariably is becoming more and more favourable to the national liberation movement and the democratic forces in alignment with it. The call draws its inspiration from the qualitatively new period of the SRYU's farsighted analysis underlines our nation's present destiny, and the Youth's preparedness to sacrifice their dear lives in order to ensure a revolutionary victory for the Somali nation at large.

The call announces our moral and material support to the Somali West liberation front and Abbo which fighting to liberate the Somali people languishing under the Abyssinian Colonial yoke. Further more the SRYU sends its comradely support and exhortation to the struggling African and Arab peoples in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Eritrea, Palestine and all those shedding their blood for freedom and democracy.

In the concluding sessions of the SRYU central committee members attended, and in representation Comrade Abdilkadir H. Mohamed Chairman of the mobilisation bureau delivered a speech of support Comrade Abdilkadir intimated his deep appreciation of the SRYU central committee style of work and the efficient handling of their meeting. «Your meeting evinced a matured style of work and a heightened political consciousness which deserves emulation by other

social organisations», he said.

Not worthy to mention is the undying interest which permeated the meeting all throughout the two weeks it lasted, despite the marathon nature of some of the meetings which lasted from morning to midnight. All the same there was no tiredness as the committee took its duties seriously and the points discussed were of valuable meaning to all, and additionally the meeting continued in a comradely and democratic atmosphere.

Thanks to the chanting of revolutionary and patriotic songs, the spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the meeting and made the membership meeting a smooth one. The flowers of the October revolution took a lion's share in the meeting, as they hitherto did.

In conclusion we express our hope that the SRYU's new plan will be a realisable objective, and as such will testify to our promise to our nation.

CELEBRATIONS IN COMMEMORATION OF 1st JULY

In the history of every nation, there exist great days which leave unforgettable memories. These are days which mark important events that make great changes in the movement of social development. Among the most important days which have such remarkable significance for the Somali nation is 1st July. It is the day which witnessed the attainment of independence by the Southern region of our country from the Italian colonial rule and its unification with the already liberated northern ex-British protectorate, thus forming the Somali Democratic Republic, 18 years ago. Furthermore, it is also the day which witnessed the

birth of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) in 1976. Therefore, it is quite natural that the combination of these three great national occasions in 1st July makes this date revered and highly valued by all Somalis.

The Somali people fought hard for its independence from the yoke of colonialism; but the people's aspirations and hopes were frustrated after independence by the political leadership who fell an easy prey to neo-colonialism. The inception of the 21st October Revolution in 1969 and the establishment of the SRSP on 1st July 1976 came as a direct response to the peoples wishes &

interests by putting the liberation struggle on the right course. Celebrating this crucial day in our national history jubilant events were held throughout the country.

A CEREMONY HELD AT THE NATIONAL THEATRE

On the night of 30th June, a big ceremony was held at the National Theatre in commemoration of the 18th anniversary of national independence and the unification of the two liberated regions of our country. It was attended by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the S.D.R. Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, Central Committee members of the SRSP, a large number of high ranking functionaries, leading bodies of the government and social organizations, the diplomatic corp accredited to our country and a huge number of the public in Mogadisho.

A major event in the celebration was a concert performed by the (Waberi) artists. The theme of the concert was based on the history of the Somali national Liberation struggle and its achievements. It won the appreciation and applause of the audience present at the theatre on account of its theme and the beautiful performance of the part-taking artists.

But the occasion was crowned by a historical speech delivered by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. In his moving and valuable speech Jaalle Siad began by congratulating the Somali people everywhere on the august occasion of 1st July. He then turned to an appraisal of the national struggle of the Somali nation, part of which attained independence and the rest still waging a

severe war for independence and the right to self-determination. The president dealt at length with the constant struggle for freedom by those Somalis still under colonial rule and the support extended to them by the Government and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic. In his speech, the president touched upon the present deteriorating situation in the Horn of Africa. He pointed out that the problem was created by the colonial rule of the Ethiopian empire and further aggravated by her present supporters.

In view of this fact he advised that it becomes incumbent upon the O.A.U and the nonaligned countries to come up actively against all measures that impede the liberation of African people and hinder their march towards the eradication of all forms of colonial oppression.

Talking about the SRSP Party, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre said that the party has been functioning for only two years but in this short period it has accomplished quite a tremendous work. The establishment of the party regional and district branches, the convening of three meetings by the CC of SRSP in which major resolutions beneficial to the well being of the masses were adopted the establishment of the social organisation — the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions, the Somali Democratic Womens, Organisation, the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement, these have been but few of the tasks carried out by the party.

At the end of his speech, Jaalle Siad made a reference to the substance of the party programme and called for its implementation by the

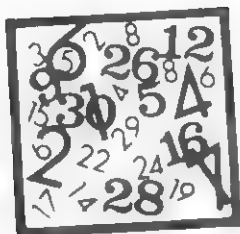
party members, and the social organizations. He urged all the members to double their efforts and improve the level of their political knowledge. Finally he called upon the Somali nation to be more vigilant and to strengthen its national unity.

Other events highlighting the ceremony were the public festivities. Throughout the country popular manifestations were staged by the masses in their respective district quarters. The programmes presented in the various Quarters contained varieties of cultural and folklore dances.

In their joyous manifestations, the people were joined by party officials who delivered noteworthy speeches on this grand day the 1st July. Apart from reviewing the Somali peoples fierce struggle for independence, the role played by the glorious Revolution to rectify past errors, the wholehearted participation of the Somali people in the task of national reconstruction, the SRSP speakers also stressed the need for constant vigilance, more sacrifice, and collective activity at the present precarious period through which our people are passing.

Befitting the grandiose of this occasion, the Capital city, Mogadishu has undergone an intensive cleaning campaign by the municipality workers and the general public. All the private and Government buildings were white-washed and the whole town decorated with neon-lights and the national flag. At the main squares and orientation centres in the capital city, the people sang and danced with merriment until the early hours of the morning. It has indeed been a gala night for the residents of Mogadishu, and the whole people of our country at large.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



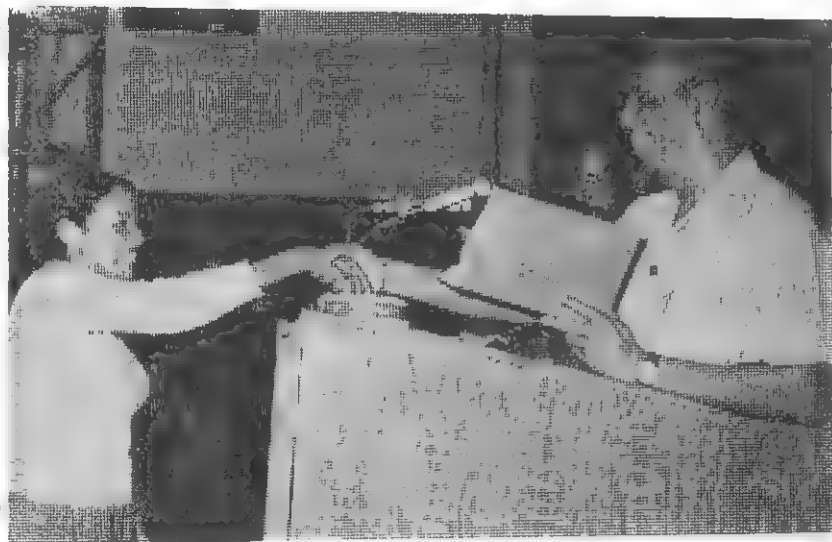
President Awards Degrees

At a graduation ceremony held at the National Theatre in Mogadishu, Party General Secretary Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre awarded degrees to 148 new graduates from the faculties of Agriculture (28), Veterinary (27) Medicine (27), Engineering (16), Industrial Chemistry (16), Geology (14), Law (12) and Economics (9), of the national University.

The event took place on the 25th of July.

In a speech on the occasion the President congratulated the new graduates on their success in completing their university education and urged them to make the utmost use of what they have learned for the benefit of their country. He also expressed his appreciation of the works of the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, the executive officers of the National University and the Italian Government who, he said, played significant roles in translating the Revolution's objective of establishing higher educational institutions into a reality.

Jaalle Siad spoke at length about the difficulties which confronted the Revolution in establishing the National University, a feat much discouraged by colonialists who argued that such an institution could never take off to fruition. We, however, de-



cided to establish the National University at all costs taking into consideration our abilities and the confidence of our people. He also touched on the Revolution's mass education policy and its achievements in this field.

Addressing the new graduates, the President pointed out that «Education is meaningless if it is not of practical value to your society».

«Somalia pursues a clear policy to work towards the interests of its people and their development guided by the socialist system of socio-economic development», Jaalle Siad noted, and added that we have chosen the Socialist system for the interest of our people to overcome the difficult circumstances that have faced our people and hence to attain socio-politico-economic development in the shortest possible time.

He described the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party as an organ whose aspira-

tions is geared towards the socio-politico-economic development of the SDR and the safeguarding of the Nation's unity.

The Somali Revolution will not, in any way, divert from the path it chose to follow since its birth in 1969 adding that everyone will be treated according to his good or bad performances and activities.

«We must get rid off and wipe out the very few corrupt elements who are bent on propagating false propaganda within our society pretending they were efficient and informative sources» the President stressed.

Attending the graduation ceremony were SDR Vice-Presidents, Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah and Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor, Ministers, Bureau chairmen, SRSP central committee members, university professors and other high-ranking government officials

The Ideology Bureau

Chairman briefs the Press

The chairman of the SR-SP Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh in an interview with reporters on 26th July in Mogadishu, said, «having been left to cope with the problems of colonial legacy Africa must find a way of solving its disputes which have created a pretext for foreign intervention in the continent».

Jaalle Mohamed was a member of the President's delegation to the 15th OAU Summit in Khartoum. He said that the big powers have directly intervened in African Affairs in pursuance of their own global strategic interests by exploiting local disputes between African States and cited the Russians and East European States intervention in the Horn of Africa Region.

«This new intervention has tempted the ex-colonial powers to aspire to bring the continent back to colonial domination,» he said. He pointed to the fact that the root cause of the problems of the Continent lies in the colonial partition of Africa in which boundaries were drawn on paper without consideration to ethnic and geographic realities.

Jaalle Mohamed said that the Conference has underscored the fact that Africa must assume the responsibility for its own defence and security.

He went on to say that because of the tough discussions involved, the conference, took a longer time to wind up during which time

the African Heads of States and governments had a chance of exchanging views on African Affairs and interests.

On the OAU discussions of the Horn of African issue, he said, a Good Offices Committee was formed by the OAU in 1973 on understanding the grave situation of the Horn of Africa and the dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia over the recognition of the rights to self determination of the peoples colonized and oppressed by Abyssinia, in an effort to find a lasting and just solution to the problem.

«The Somali Revolution has, since the establishment of the committee, worked much towards assisting in the solution of the problem but, the committee made no headway due to the intransigence of Abyssinia and its endeavour to contain under its empire people struggling for their liberation», he pointed out.

The Ideology Bureau chairman stressed that Abyssinia, in every way, is colonizing people who are struggling for their liberation and referred to words of Bevin, an ex-British Foreign Secretary, who said that Abyssinia should decolonize the territories under its colonialism.

He told the reporters that the struggle of those peoples has been going on for a long time and charged that Abyssinia is responsible for the deterioration of the situation in the Horn by denying. Those people

their rights to self determination.

«Abyssinia reduced the whole issue during the Libreville meeting of the eight Foreign Ministers of the countries constituting the OAU Good Offices Committee, to a border dispute between Somalia and Abyssinia thus camouflaging the real issue which is in essence colonialism and the Western Somalis under its colonialism» Jaalle Mohamed Siad.

He said that the Summit Conference, after much discussion and taking note of the gravity of the Horn Africa problem and the Western Somali issue in particular, has proposed that the armies of Somali and Abyssinia should withdraw 5KMs from the both sides of the de-facto boundary between the two countries, the cessation of hostilities between them and the continuation of the mediation efforts of the Eight Nation Good Offices Committee in order to bring about lasting and just solution to the problem.

He noted that the Heads of States of the OAU mediation Committee had never had the opportunity to meet on the issue.

Commenting on the Eritrean problem he said it was not included in the Agenda of the Summit even though fierce battle were though fierce battle were Venue. He called on African States to have courage to address themselves to the Eritrean issue.

HEEGAN APPEARS

The first issue of weekly English Newspaper published by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance appeared on the 17th of July.

The publication of Heegan (Vigilance) is connected with the efforts being made to advance Somali Journalism. It addresses itself to the current Political cultural and economic affairs of the Somali nation in addition to a variety of other features.

It follows the increasing-

ly felt need for an English weekly for Sometime. Heegan emerged as a result of hard efforts and decisions reached in discussions within the highest organs of the state with regards to improve effectiveness of Somalia's Information Media.

The Newspaper includes a weekly round-up of home News and gives a clear picture of the realities of the Horn of African situation

Heegan Welcomes suggestion and Comments from its prospective readership.

Allegations Refuted

At the session of the OAU summit on the 13th July, Somalia replied to Ethiopian charges that Somalia had violated Ethiopian territory. Jaalle Hussein Abdukadir Kaasim, Minister of Mineral and water Resources speaking for the Government emphatically asserted that Somalia has not violated Ethiopian territory, and that the Ethiopian accusations were merely a pretext for aggression on the SDR by the Addis Ababa regime.

«It is, on the contrary, Ethiopian military planes that commit incessant acts of aggression against the Somali Democratic Republic», he said «violating our air space and carrying out air strikes against civilian centres in our country». The Minister gave examples of recent air strikes on Hargeisa and other towns and villages in the Republic, including the latest attack on July 13 on Abdulkadir Village.

Jaalle Hussein underlined that the nature of the conflict in the Horn of Africa region was one between a colonial regime and colonized peoples, and that it was not only the Western Somali people who were struggling to liberate themselves from Ethiopian oppression, but also the Eritrean, Tigre, Affar and Abbo peoples. Replying to further charges made by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister when making his country's statement to the Heads of State meeting, that Somalia had called in Foreign powers to its aid, Jaalle Hussein said it was astounding to hear such accusations from a regime which has employed foreign forces from the Caribbean to Eastern Europe to assist it.. between seventeen and twenty seven thousand Cuban troops are presently involved in the inhuman massacre of innocent civilians in Western Somalia at the behest of the colonial Ethiopian regime» he said.

Medals Awarded

Vice-President and Assistant General Secretary of the Party, Jaalle Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor accompanied by the Chairman for Party Financial Bureau, Colonel Osman Mohamed Jelle and Jaalle Col. Abdukadir Haji Mohamed, Chairman for party organisation and mobilization Bureau made a one day visit 18th-19th July to Baidoa, Bay Region.

The Bay region has been awarded a bronze medal by the Government for commendable action in defence of the Revolution.

Presenting the award at Baidoa, Jaalle Ismail expressed appreciation to the people of the region for the part they had played in preserving national unity in the face of the abortive Coup of April 9th. He also awarded bronze medals, certificates of honour, and promotions to individuals of the Bay region who, he said, had played significant roles in the attempted coup. He praised the inhabitants of Bay region for their Revolutionary spirit and effective contribution in the defence of the Revolution the preservation of the national unity and the fight against reactionary and anti-revolution elements. He said that the Revolution will reward anyone who assists in the consolidation and defence of the national sovereignty and unity, and urged the Somali people to be vigilant to the defence of their interests and country. Jaalle Ismail condemned the instigators of the abortive coup of April 9th.

On Non-Alignment and OAU Resolutions

The need for common OAU strategy before the meeting of non-aligned nations in Belgrade was emphasised by the Somali foreign Minister Abdirahman Jama Barre in the course of the OAU foreign Minister's debate on non-alignment in Khartoum.

He stressed the OAU's duty to protect the independence of member countries of the non-aligned community and said that some countries were not fit to belong to the non-aligned movement and should be isolated.

It was unfortunate, he said, that some members of the non-aligned groups of nations had changed themselves into machines used by big powers and cited in particular the Caribbean Island of Cuba, which, he said, was wholly serving the interests of a big power, and therefore grossly violating the tenets and spirit of the movement. «Cuba's actions constitutes a disgrace to the whole Movement,» he said.

«I believe that some countries are not fit to stay in the Movement» he said.

On July 28, Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre addressed non-aligned Ministerial conference in Belgrade.

He reviewed the vital contributions the non-aligned movement has made in the world arena: it has contributed to easing cold war tensions to the initiation of positive steps towards disarmament, towards development (The New Economic Order), also towards easing particular tensions and conflicts such as

those in the middle East. Jaalle Abdirahman emphasised that the non aligned movement has paid greater attention and achieved greater success in the struggles against colonialism, racism, zionism and hegemony.

The minister pointed to the current dangers in Africa posed by foreign military intervention, particularly that of the Soviet Union and its surrogate Cuba. Among the points he raised and argued at the conference included: serious re-examination of the position of any state which has deliberately violated the non-aligned principles and effective appropriate steps accordingly taken against it; non-alignment to rededicate itself to the fundamental principles, ideas and objectives which enshrine the sum total of the aspiration of the non-aligned nations; condemnation of all acts of foreign interference in all its forms and manifestations; immediate withdrawal of all extra-African military forces from African soil; Rejection of all attempts to draw the non-aligned states into a military alliances with the super powers and their respective blocs. Jaalle Abdirahman, SDR foreign Minister urged the conference to denounce colonialism, racism, zionism, hegemonism and all acts aimed at re-imposing domination and oppression against our peoples.

A common African strategy to consolidate the non-aligned movement and a resolution against foreign military intervention in Africa were adopted at the recent OAU meeting in Khartoum, he recalled.

The Somali delegation at

Belgrade together with several other delegations called for next years non-aligned summit scheduled to be held in Havana, Cuba, to be shifted elsewhere or postponed

The 15th OAU summit adopted important resolutions at the closing of the 5-days meeting on the 22nd of July in Khartoum. Conference Chairman President Nimeiry hailed the success of the summit. Togo Foreign Minister was elected new secretary General of the OAU.

The resolutions which were adopted, condemned foreign military bases and pacts with extra-African powers; pledged to pursue the struggle for total liberation of all African peoples as a means of ending all forms of domination; called for a common African strategy to consolidate the non-aligned movement; strongly condemned all foreign interference in internal affairs of the African continent; called for the reactivation of the OAU Commission to consider the establishment of an inter African military force; called for a strengthening of Afro Arab co-operation and a plea to Arab sister states to increase economic support for the continents development; reaffirmed support for Egypt, Arab front line states and the palestinian peoples for the restoration of their rights and the recovery of occupied territories, and condemned Israeli expansionism; reaffirmed support for Namibian liberation under SWAPO leadership; condemned military build-up of South Africa, and its repeated aggression against neighbouring states; reaffirmed support for the Patriotic front of Zimbabwe while maintaining that other political groups should be included in an all-party con-

ference; pledged increased financial, material and political support for intensification of armed struggle inside South Africa; continued sanctions against the Salisbury and Pre-

toria regimes and increased support for Front line states; to petition to the UN Security Council to consider mandatory decisions to prohibit South Africa from achieving nuclear

weapon capability; appeal to member states to settle disputes through African organs.

The next Assembly of the OAU will be held in Monrovia in 1979.

A new polytechnical insitute

A ceremony was held at the education Ministry Headquarters on 23rd July to mark the handing over of the newly built Polytechnical Insitue and the departure of the Korean Construction Teams who put up the Institute.

The ceremony was attended by the Minister of Education J/le Aden Mohamed Ali, the Korean Ambassador in Mogadishu Comrade Han Bong Chol and other Somali and Korean officials.

Speaking on the occassion, the Minister noted the importance of the Institute to the future technical progress of the country and its people and said that the Somali government and people are very grateful to the Korean government for its assistance in the construction of the Institute.

He said that it would be a positive contribution to the growing ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

J/le Aden expressed thanks to the government and people of Korea under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Korean technical teams in particular.

He conferred certificaties of honor to the Korean and Somali technical teams who took part in the construction of the Institute.

The Korean Ambassador, Comrade Han Bong Chol in speech on the occassion talked about the growing ties of cooperation and friendship between the two countries and said, that the construction of the Institute is clear indica-

tion of increasing cooperation between the two peoples under their respective guidance of Jaalle Siad and Comrade Kim Il Sung.

He said that the Korean people is very happy with the progress attained by the Somali people in its struggle for national Unity and development.

The Ambassador noted the struggle of his own people for national construction, the building of Socialism and their fight against Imperialism.

The polytechnical Institute was officially inangurated by the President J/le Siad on July 1st and would accomodate about 2000 students.



Islamic league official

Mr. Ibrahim O. Ismail, the Islamic league Director of Budget Department concluded a 7-days visit to the Somali Democratic Republic on 27th July.

Briefing newsmen upon arrival on the purpose of his visit, he said his mission was to promote SDR and Islamic League relations and solidarity. He disclosed that the Islamic League will extend US dollars 700,000 assistance to the Somali Revolutionary Youth Centres and the Refugee Camps of the people who

have fled from Ethiopian colonial oppression.

During his stay in Somalia Mr. Ismail met Somali officials. He also visited the Revolutionary Youth Centres of Lafole and Afgoi and refugee camps in Har geisa.

The Islamic League Official spoke to reporters shortly before his departure and said he would brief the Islamic League Headquarters in Jeddah on his experience in Somalia and the conditions of the Western Somali Refugees.

ART & CULTURE



The writer's role in the society

By Abdi Yusuf Riyale

Since the inception of the Revolution on 21 October 1969, the Somali people have made remarkable achievements in all the aspects of life. The overall effects of these achievements, and particularly the developments in the field of culture, notably after the writing of the Somali language, has enthused the Somali people to take to an unprecedented practice of writing. This has in its turn contributed to the revival and improvement of the Somali culture.

Writing is of significant importance to the people, since it is through writing that all the relationships in the society can be clearly introduced, relations that pertain to economy, politics, social and behaviour. Needless to stress the primary and essential task of writing as a means of communication. The introduction of the written script did not come about easily as many may think, nor has its development been an easy process. Every writing necessarily depicts the objective reality that prevails in the society and the transformational processes it has passed through. It is a true measure rod to the historical stage of the society and its level of social development.

Now, getting down to the core of the matter, that is the essence and objective of writing, it is pertinent to ask what is the relationship bet-



ween writing and the society? What is the character of the writer? These are questions that have demanded adequate answers for a very long time, but at the present historical epoch, the answer to these questions take a different meaning owing to the emergence of two social world systems different in their philosophical, economical, political and social bearings. Two systems that are entirely opposed to each other and antagonistic in their outlook. It is, therefore, necessary that in order one may give the correct answer to the foregoing questions to have a clear and true understanding of the world situation, the correlation of forces and the specific conditions in each

country, a fact that can best be reached through a deep analysis guided by scientific perspective, since we naturally know that different approaches to the same problem or question do give different answers.

Many people who are thought to be both well learned and experienced do believe that a writer always takes a neutral position as regards the conflicts between the different classes in the society. They are of the idea that the definite social relations does not have any impact upon the works of a writer. Likewise, they hold that the writer is not at all bothered to express the interest of a particular

class but essentially depicts the prevailing reality in the society from a neutral and independent stand. And therefore no blame is attributable to the writer if his/her works win the likes of same individuals in the society and the dislikes of others.

The faultiness of this idea lies in the fact that it takes account of the individual alone ignoring at the same time that the works of every writer has per se a class nature depending ofcourse upon the existing social relations in the society. Citing an example in this, there are some writers who, when dealing with political, economic and social matters in the society confine themselves to embracing the existing problems and difficulties, particularly when dealing with the developing countries, they always mention these countries' economic and social backwardness, without at all mentioning anything about the underlying reasons for this and the impeding factors along the way to its proper solution. Those, of such writers, who try to be more sincere with themselves do claim that the main obstacle that hinders the advancement of the developing countries lies in their low level of education and poor technology, putting, at the same time much of the blame on the people of these countries who they allege do not show any enthusiasm for hard work and more production. Therefore, they subsequently recommend that in order to overcome this backwardness the developing countries ought to improve their educational standards and get more technicians. It is irrefutable that to improve the educational standard of a society enhances its progress, but the adequate question is whether it is alone sufficient

enough to solve the fundamental problem of backwardness in the societies of the developing countries. We may even go little further and ask whether the high level attained by certain developed countries in the field of science and technology have been able to solve their basic problems. The answer is obviously, no. The truth which is testified and supported by the progress of history shows that the socio-economic backwardness of the developing countries is due to the long periods of colonialisation which these countries were subjected to. Backwardness in these countries is not the curse of God, but primarily legacy of the colonial yoke that exploited, oppressed and practised all forms of dehumanisation upon the peoples of these countries in order to perpetuate its domination. It becomes, therefore, clear that the primary condition for development is for these countries to radically change the social relations inherited from colonialism and to embark upon the path of progress and which in essence should be anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-capitalism. That is the path that guarantees the abolition of all forms of exploitation and the establishment of a new more advanced form of social relations.

With this briefs and pertinent remarks, we can deal with the afore said questions the relationship between the writers work and the society, and the characteristic nature of the writer.

There is no doubt that the individual is a part of the society. The society in its turn has policies that govern its economic, political, social, and cultural life. These policies are naturally determined by the

social relations prevalent in the society, and which objectively place the individuals at certain position. That means that every individual in the society is to a certain degree effected the social relations in ~~the country.~~

It has also to be borne in mind when tackling such a complicated topic as the role of the writer in the developing countries, that it has to be done within the context of the present international situation where two conflicting world systems are at logger heads with each other exerting a great influence on all the activities of the human race in our planet. Coming to those societies with crystallised class distinctions, we can easily observe that they comprise of two antagonistic classes. The exploiter and the exploited class, the oppressor and the oppressed one. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat, distinct classes are engaged in a continual fierce struggle against each other in all aspects of life ideological, economic political and social spheres.

The bourgeoisie is fully committed to the perpetuation of its exploitation of the working peoples where as the latter is unequivocally determined to free itself from the fetters of exploitation and oppression and to establish a liberated new society. History has amply shown that victory is on the side of the working people. The truth of this conviction lies in the laws that govern the social development of mankind, and which is manifested by the characteristic features of the contemporary era, where the trend of history is becoming more and more shaped by the forces of liberation, democracy, and social progress and simultaneously witnessing the crisis and the gradual

decay of the forces of reaction.

In the light of this fact, would it be possible for any individual in such a society to speak about being neutral or independent of the relations that govern the different class positions in such a society?

Can any one any longer air an idea that could be equally welcome by the rival classes, so much so when it deals with vital matters as economy, politics or social affairs. As I have already said in the beginning the answer to all these questions will never be the same, because it will be viewed from different angles and through different perspectives, but let me deal with it in brief.

It is indisputable that in class society, every individual is attached to the class one belongs and consequently defends its interests. But that does not at all rule out that there are individuals who may rise against their own class. The important thing, however, is not the individual allegiance as much as it is the general interests, aims, and objec-

tives each class is fighting for. It therefore, follows from this that every individual is consciously or unconsciously bound to take a class stand in all his activities, thoughts, and behaviour.

The writer in such a society can never profess to take an independent stand. The fallacy of this professy has been exposed by history. Every writer takes a class position and will continue to do so until the social order undergoes a total and radical transformation that renders all forms of exploitation and coercion a matter of the past. We say because in a class society all forms of writing no matter whether the theme being dealt with its politics, economic culture or philosophy, uphold and defend the interests of a particular class. But one should never be under the wrong impression as to think that the writer's mission is only needed and essential in a class society only. Far from it, even after the establishment of a socialist society, contradictions are not comple-

tely got rid off. Certain contradictions still persist to remain like those between science and technology, the town and the countryside, mental work and manual labour etc. although these are non-antagonistic contradictions owing to the absence of conflicting interests of social classes in the socialist society.

Revolutionary writing, besides, dealing with current problems also foretells the contradictions likely to arise in the society during its on-ward evolution and suggests the appropriate ways and means of overcoming them.

Writing whether in form or essence is as complex and intricate as the social structure and the opposed interests in the society it deals with, but we can safely say that every writers work, particularly in the present historical epoch, is either in the service of the working peoples interests or, on the other hand, it stands with the bourgeois class which is bent on the exploitation of the working masses.



THE OVERVIEW OF THE THEATRICAL PLAY

"HISTORY NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN,"

Farewell to a sorrowful state
Hail to a new happy beginning.
It is our art dusting it
self up it is our national theater
which in July this year drew
up the curtain to show its
drama entitled, "History
not to be forgotten," acted by
Waberi artistes.

For a long time, now the
educated theatre goes expressed
their disquiet with the

quality of our plays. They were
saddened by the perennial
backwardness of our plays dominated
as these were dominated by
romanticised love affairs which
were the normal recipe of our
script writers. The educated
theatrical goes felt the urgent
need for plays which will
educate the public in combatting
the sorry legacy of colonial
regret and backwardness. Such
plays certain-

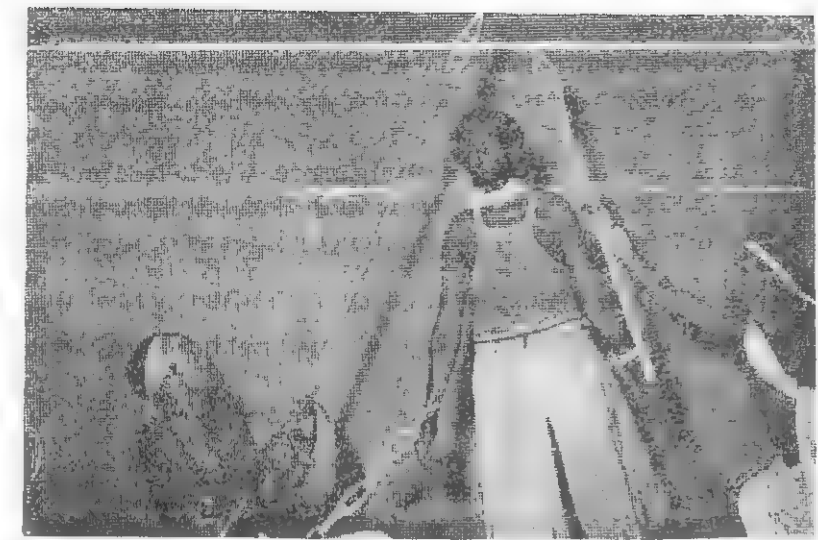
ly will help us in the awfully
needed transition from traditionally
inherited harmful behaviours
and normative values which
act as brake on the process
of social development.

The apparent backwardness
of our theatre is interpreted
by some people to be attributable
to its immaturity, tied as this
is to the level of social
development doubtlessly this is

one factor to be taken into account in the overall assessment of our art, but the truth is that it is not the only factor.

The history of our theatre amply goes to prove the firm conviction that a host of other factors, by and large, contribute to our theatrical backwardness. Surprisingly it emerges that the poor quality of our plays has a temporal sequence, that is the earlier the play is produced the more probable is its better quality. This is an absolute negation of the logical expectation that quality will improve with the passage of time.

At the time of colonial subjugation the theatre honestly carried out its task of inspiring the people to relentlessly fight against colonial oppression. Conversely it lent great value to the spirit of freedom which beat in the heart of every patriotic person. In the period of the corrupt neo-colonial regimes the Somali theatre fully exposed the rottenness of the maladministrative practices of then ruling elite, consequently plays engendered a revolutionary spirit. Apart from those exclusively political tasks, the theatre filled the role of tirelessly combatting the anti-social normative values



subsisting in the society. The artistic form of conceptual portrayal was an honest and comprehensive one.

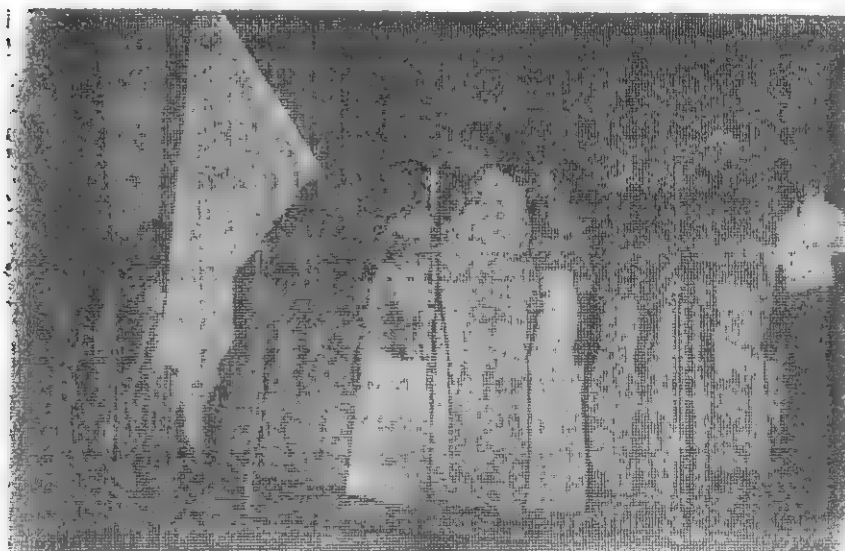
Be that as it is, in this era of revolutionary upsurge our theatre fell short of its social responsibilities and lagged behind in its bounden duty of disseminating revolutionary ideas. In actual fact it missed its role of contributing to the consolidation of a revolutionary political spirit in the minds of the masses.

Accordingly it was ill-fitted to cope with the harmful and traditional ideas and practices inherited from the preceding socio-economic formations which existed in the colonial and neo-colonial era.

The displeasure for our theatre weighed heavily on me the night of 5th July when I joined the rest of the audience to see the new play, «History not to be forgotten». It never crossed my mind that I will witness a play to gladden my heart bearing in mind the countless plays formerly displayed. I thought this one will go the same way, that, is a day as good as lost. However with this new play my prediction was immediately disproved and I was chastised and thrown into a new happy mood where pessimism for our theatre receded into the background. A new melodramatic phase affording confidence in our future art and artists and casting overboard the lack of confidence made itself felt.

The plot of the play is not new to our theatre; but the technical form of its expression is what is new, and thereby distinguishes it from plays formerly acted. The plot is a bird's eyeview of the Somali nation's struggle in the various historical periods. Of course this topic has been touched on a number of times but one really feels that the artistic expression of the play's multidimensionality has not been fully brought out.

«History not to be forgot-



ten» was the first silent drama staged by our theatre, and this is the linchpin of its contribution to our theatrical production. It's artistic appearance in terms of form reminded us of the heights which our theatre earlier attained.

When the curtain is immediately drawn the unanticipated scene of a musical group sitting single file, equipped with all their musical instruments is seen. Written musical notes and a leading conductor is a new innovative method this play adds to our theatrical scene.

Apparently a healthy borrowing from the rich store of world art is noticeable here. After several meaningful musical beats the plot of the play unfolds.

Is is a prosperous community, peacefully settled in its own land and happily engrossed in festivities for its good fortune. But then, as life is a veritable witness the happiness cannot be allowed to flow uninterrupted. Who disturbed and disrupted it!

An enemy broke in and the peace was made to totter, and the prosperity to fade. A summon for help and preparations to thwart the enemy starts, but the first battles end in defeat. This defeat is symbolised by a man tied firmly in five places lying at the furthest corner of the stage.

A bitter struggle ensues and the two contending forces are the community army who is fighting to force the shackled man and the invading enemy who is trying to keep him a prisoner. The battles continues and the colonial shackles one by one are untied. With the untying of each, madly jubilant festivities ensue. Evenu-

ally only two shackles remain but the battles for liberation continues unabated.

To an extent the plot is one of suspense, the actors are silent and that heightens the audiences interest and imagination, the explanation of the plot by the audience is aided by pictures behind the scene, which correspond with every act emerging.

The new contributions of the play «History not to be forgotten» to our theatre can be summarised below as the following:

1. The introductory music with its scientific orientation and self-explanatory tendencies.

2. The silent form of the actors.

3. The advantage to which every spot of the theatre is put to.

4. The harmonised atmosphere or the general organisational form of the play with its exemplary successful imagination. By this is meant to bring out the cooperative and complementary roles of the plot, music, lightening, decour and the pictures emerging from behind the scene. In spite of the fact that all these did not harmonically correspond 100% nonetheless we can categorically state that a great success was scored in this regard.

5. Deserving notice is that the level of acting was of high and inimitable standard. Warneri artists who acted in this play showed world standards, and impressive acting value goes to the hero of the plot who doubtlessly will inspire patriots the world over.

All points afore-mentioned

sowed the seeds of Patriotic enthusiasm in the audience and precious appreciation unequalled by the cheap romanticised love plays hitherto staged, there by disproving the contention that nothing but a love story could attract such an audience. The warm cheering and the enthusiasm welcoming that play act a veritable witness that the quality of the theatre as a place of songs peoples, tastes. Accordingly a more qualitative play attracts a greater public appreciation. The children brought up in love and mythological oriented plays, and who thus regarded the theatre as a place of songs and laughter bereft of wisdom, might not have captured the meaning pregnant in the play in the first nights of display, inasmuch as they missed the jocular but meaningless talk and cheap but emotionally moving the theatre as a place of Songs left with the imprint of a lasting name and destiny which left were to us all by a valuable play honestly reflecting the times we live in.

The praises showered on this new play should not be taken to mean that it is fault free. In point of fact there are certain drawbacks which the play suffers of. Major amongst these, is the fact that the finale of the play seems to be hastily compiled and coordinated, evincing therefore an imbalance vis-a vis its other parts.

The other factor underlying the plays weakness is the slowness of the story's unfolding and its undue lengthiness as regards the vast historical period it has to survey which consequently makes it imperative to reduce it to a mere overview. This is a mistake which besets our historical plays and it stands to reason that in the future this has to be corrected.

In spite of the fact that the play was meant to commemorate an important occasion, all the same it is arguable that artistically should have been made to deal with one of the facts of the historical struggle of our nation. A more circum-spect analysis would have allowed a deeper and more down

to earth and artistically interesting conclusions. This naturally would have heightened the melodramatic effect, and the intensity of the social struggle would have gained momentum there by contributing to the undying interest in the play.

In conclusion one only glad-

(cont'd from Page 4)

relations with the various Party organs, further strengthening of their cordial ties with the other progressive forces like the armed forces, the nomadic population, the intellectuals, the Petty traders etc. Rallying behind the Secretary General's, Jaalle Siad, wise citations, the Party Programme and the principles of the October Revolution, the Social organisations ought to redouble their revolutionary efforts and activities so that the historical tasks facing the Party and the people at this rather critical period of our national struggle are accomplished triumphantly. Under the banner of Scientific Socialism, the

Social organisations must selflessly contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the people towards independence, national Unity, and social progress.

— The Social organisation should wage a relentless struggle against the unholy alliance between the reactionary forces and the counter-revolutionary engaged in the sabotage and the crushing of the 21st Oct. Revolution.

— They ought to combat all forms of corruption, Tribalism, nepotism and other outmoded values, norms and methods.

ly and warmly welcomes the fruitful strides of Somali theatre, but our nation who is in a period of transition anticipates greater and firmer strides in the future. This progressive development is a historical mission which our theatre, along with the other facts of our social life, ought to measure up to.

— They must display the highest vigilance and awareness, and must protect and promote the achievements of the Revolution.

— They are obliged to rally their forces behind the party, its Programme and the principles of the revolution for the successful creation of a Somali Socialist society in the future.

— They should actively work in the midst of the masses; mobilise them, organise them, link them with the party, so that fulfilment of the Somali people historical objectives are more easily attained.



THEORITICAL ISSUES

The class struggle as a motive force of Social development

By Mohamoud Abdi Ali

Social development is such a pervasive and on going process that social thinkers have to lay down the factors that contribute to it. Obviously social development is a such complicated and multi-sided reality that the sources underlying its ever present vitality can only be as variegated and numerous as is made necessary by a process of gigantic proportions. In this article the role of the class struggle in the forward push of society will be attempted. The import of why amplification on this issue is a practical point is imputable to the undoubted fact that certain philosophers and social scientists of a bourgeois inclination castigate and denigrate class struggle in such a way as to vividly portray it as an anti — thesis to healthy social development. Class struggle, and its advocacy, takes in the minds of those social scientists, a cataclysmic and catastrophic dimensions negating almost all the fruits which human civilisation and culture so painfully acquired throughout a long span of man's history. Accordingly these bourgeois social scientists, amongst whom K. Popper, a British social scientist, features prominently take the point of view that instead of an ungoing class struggle, with its natural tendency of the anarchic destruction of what is now available, it is safer to commit oneself to the present

status quo. The present of course is nothing but the monopoly state capitalist order, with its avaricious multinationals, and the dominant subservient relationships linking up the centre and periphery in an unbreakable neo-colonial straitjacket of dependency of course this neo-colonial straitjacketing of dependency could in the course of time, through energetic internal and external economic restructuring be avoided by undergoing a national democratic and socialist phases of transformation. Be as it is, theoreticians of K. Poppers ilk pour cold water on socialism, seeing it as a totalitarian system negating man's right to freedom, and therefore close the door to an objective option which continuously, and increasingly offers itself as the alternative to the socio-economic impasse confronting third world countries. All the same let us delve into the interesting topic of class struggle contributing to human societies onward march into inevitable progress to communism and the attainment of overall plenitude and abundance.

Bourgeois historians during restoration in France, such as Francois Guizot, Thierry, Mignet, and a host of others admitted the continuity of class struggle in human society, and the beneficial by products of such struggle between estates as they called it. The

analytical conceptualisation of the restoration went a step ahead compared to that of French enlightenment, who saw history as nothing but the undisturbed unfolding of reason looked up in struggle with ignorance. But enlightenment, in its rationalist spectrum was an advance over Hegel who reduced history to the activity of the pure spirit, in the evolution of the absolute idea which swaggers before us as the creator of everything, but shows its illegitimate existence in being fatherless, by having no source. As it is bourgeois theoreticians though sometimes intuitively or by virtue of intellectual honesty arrive at an approximation to the truth, nonetheless in the last stage shy away from uttering the whole truth. This was the case with these french social scientists who representing the bourgeoisie come to however tried to fabricate theoretical substantiation for an eternal, immutable and inexorable sway of capitalist social relations. For Guizot Capitalism constituted the terminus, the end of the road for human civilisation, from now on mankind has to endure to live with capitalism, K. Marx pungently and succinctly has to state, «Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any. There has been history, since there were institutions of feudalism, and in these institutions of feudalism we find quite different

relations of production from those of bourgeois society which economists try to pass off as natural and, as such, eternal».

HOW THE CLASS STRUGGLE FAVOURS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

On what grounds could class struggle be said to favour social development? As is unequivocally stated in the communist manifesto, ever since the decay of the primitive communal society, the history of human society has been that of class struggle: Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes». Crux of the whole matter is underlined by the italicised parts in the nature of things class struggle consciously organised has to end up in the revolutionary transformation of the society as is attested to by the French, and American bourgeois revolutions of 1789, and 1776 respectively, and by the socialist and national democratic revolutions of this century. Notwithstanding this more or less beneficial aspects of the revolution, resulting from the dialectics of the class struggle, is the second polarity of the struggle and that is the common ruin emanating from the integral weakness of the revolutionary process. The continuous uprisings of the oppressed classes, which were defeated because of ill organisation, and which

there by gave a new lease of life to an abominable system of exploitation and human degradation categorically prove Marx's wisdom.

Addressing ourselves to class struggle's healthy influence on social development draws its undiluted dynamics from the that, «Classes as large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose of the mode of acquiring it» play a prominent part in the social structure which defines and determines the direction, scope and tendency of social development. Classes are the most significant criterion by which the existing social conflicts could be assessed, and their general orientation judged. Major historical events are played out by these large groups of people which comprise classes, and the good and the bad which the involved millions mobilised by the tasks which history bases to be settled ultimately rebound on the historical necessity driving those social forces to come into the historical scene. Class struggles do not arise simply of their own but underlying them is genuine historical tasks awaiting to be finally and ultimately resolved. And inspiring all the grand movements of antiquity, as well as the ones now unfolding is the singular and successful carrying out of the particular interests of this or that class interest. In terms

of global human interest the most progressive class's interest usually coincides with the common interests of human society i.e. the French revolution of 1789 as the correlation of class forces hitherto, epitomised the dreams of mankind. However in the prevailing conditions of today a bourgeois revolution would not have such great magnitude and advantageous results. But how does the class struggle deepen and enrich the ongoing process of self-developing human reality.

The basic ingredients to socio-economic development, as engendered by the class struggle emanates from the antagonistic nature of social development in class divided society. In his, a contribution to the critique of Political Economy K. Marx states, «At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of the society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or what is but a legal expression for the something — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the whole immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. By this is meant that productive forces, constituting the more dynamic variable of the mode of production, vis-vis class production relation, have a tendency of outpacing and outstripping the latter by virtue of this a social revolution has to ensue to establish and synchronise the new productive forces with appropriate production relations. To the extent that the

old production relations represent a class interest, in capitalist society the bourgeoisie, the new production relations to be set up can only be championed, and are in the interest of the working class. This is the case inasmuch as in capitalist society there are two basic classes the bourgeoisie and the working class, who inevitably contend for political power.

The sharpening of contradictions within the capitalist system, in terms of the increasing socialisation of property through vigorous concentration and centralisation of capital, the breaking up of barriers between countries and their respective economics, and the mutual interdependence (sic) are the sine qua non for a socialist revolution led by a working class party to irreversibly succeed in the long run. The rationale of the social revolution which is born in the womb of the capitalist society springs from the incapacity of the ruling class to find answers for further social development, from the working class's militancy, and its unpreparedness to live in the former framework of oppression and exploitation. The proletariat organised within their vanguard party, and incontestably representing the path of historical necessity are able to rally around them most of the working class strata and other non-exploiting sections lying between it and the bourgeoisie. Needless to say the proletarian task following a successful social revolution is all-rounded constructive. From these on, through socialist transition, the foundations are led for a classless society.

THE DIALECTICS OF CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE THIRD

WORLD COUNTRIES

Undoubtedly general laws of socio-economic processes and phenomena in their objective regularities, are the same the world over. This, invariably affects the nature, and the level of class formation, and class struggle, in all its uniform and universal dimensions. Without casting any doubt as to the general laws impinging on the topic in hand, it is pertinent to note the specificities and peculiarities of a country, or a number of countries. The link between the universal and the particular, and all other categories, and the interconnections between them testifies to the richness of the dialectical method. Third world countries where the intensity of class formation is yet at a low level due to the economic underdevelopment to which they have been subjected to, by long colonial neglect, and the neo-colonial straitjacketing perpetrated by the discriminations of today's international world market necessitate a novel analysis. The strength of the traditional economic order in the form of multifarious communal structures of parcel holding and patriarchal stages in agriculture, and the minimal development of an industrial sector introduces elements whereby the dynamics of the social-class structures take new and uncharted paths of evolution. In the Somali Democratic Republic where over 60% of the population are nomads entails a departure from the ordinary methodological construct with regard to class struggle.

Class struggle in third world context contends with a numerically and qualitatively immature proletarian force which in political consciousness organization by large differs from the prevailing reality in

highly advanced capitalist countries. Consequently theoretical exposition of class struggle has so far enlightened us on this score by holding out the view that it revolves around the issue that there are a complex of intermediary class groupings which transitionally fill up the role of the working class. To elaborate on this the national bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the fledgling proletariat and peasantry, and other nonexploiting & latent bourgeois classes step into the new role of forming a broad alliance agreeing on a collective program of militant democratic and an anti-imperialist political objectives through which the shared aspiration of rapid socio-economic development could best be carried out. The militant and anti-imperialist stand of these broad social groupings affords them the tremendously needed social orientation which on a national and international context shapes the variegated socio-political possibilities which enable a newly sovereign country to attain a sure foot in a world where an intense sense struggle is raging between multiple forms of social and class groupings. In addition this social orientation has to encompass a definitive attitude to a choice between the two social systems which are lacked up in conflict in the world arena. In the ever changing scenario of class struggle in its local and international context the social orientation goes through upswings and down swings, affecting the destiny of the social groupings that unite in the broad progressive alliance. The progressive stream and orientation retains its vitality and rationale throughout the decisive evolution of the revolutionary process.

The unity of these progressi-

ve social groupings armed with a world proven & tested progressive ideology preferably a marxist-leninist one is a promising start to deepen and enrich the evolving revolutionary fermentation in society. This fermentation is hastened by certain policies adopted by the revolutionary democratic state such as the priority and encouragement given to the state sector, the invigorated political organisation and the attendant heightening of social consciousness which go a long way to satisfy necessary social transformation to be wrought in a backward society. Besides this, the creation of social organisations mobilising the working class and the toiling masses in general, and the state aid advanced to them particularly with respect to cooperatives, and other economically strategic sectors devolve to the benefit of the working masses. Furthermore an integral aspect of the policy imperatives of the revolutionary state is to seriously weaken and combat the reactionary machinations of the overthrown reactionary classes represented by remnants of the tribal and feudal order, as well as the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, who are in close cooperation with the international Capitalist class with thousands of threads mainly in the economic field.

The resistance to this motley of reactionary classes is a complex and complicated one thus calling for extreme vigilance on the part of the progressive forces inasmuch as these reactionary forces in alignment with expatriate capital continuously conspire to stage

a comeback. What a successful counter-revolutionary comeback means for the progressive alliance can vividly be drawn from the Chilean experience of post 1973 Pinochet's inhuman rule.

The dialectics of class struggle in third world countries is an inexhaustible subject matter which a subsection of an article cannot do full justice to. Anyway the possibilities of its ongoing evolution is an interesting matter which will hold the attention of countless budding scholars. We can only hope that the endless discussions this will entail bear fruitful results which will rebound to the maturing third world global struggles turning on true sovereignty, full socio-economic independence and a social welfare for the too long exploited third world peoples.

The progressive nature of class struggle hinges by and large on the nature of the class leading that struggle, and the tasks sets for itself. The bearings of social development has from antiquity upto now constituted an ascending line, that is development from the lower to the higher, and ever growing approximation to the grounding of a more just order, where by stages and then more rapidly, as with the help of the scientific and technical revolution to banish the scourges of humanity such as poverty, ignorance and disease from the scene. The rooting out of exploitation of man by man, the assurance of abundance for all, the expansion of man's rights and his realm of freedom, the invoking of a moral order worthy of man's aspirations, and the uprooting of the

dehumanising and deleterious social factors limiting man's accomplishment of his ideals.

In today world the capitalist system shows the unmistakable signs of militating against the full satisfaction of man's social needs. It is characterised by acts such as the burning of excess wheat supplies, the throwing of a apple surpluses and butter into the sea on the grounds that if these excesses find their way into the market the interplay of demand and supply will be such as to reduce prices, and henceforth the level of profits. This acts take on a macabre and insensitive dimension when set against the phenomenal need for food in a world where hunger stalks large areas. Needless to say this inhuman acts impress on our minds the bankruptcy of a system whose *raison d'être* is the maximisation of profit. Conversely this makes all the more imperative for the human society to seriously embark a new course heralding a new age and order. Doubtlessly this new order can only be brought by the class most able to further develop the productive forces, and though this capable of setting up new social relations which measure up to the spirit and requirements of the times in which we live. The working class, whose categorisation is gaining more broad meaning, in alignment with national liberation against imperialism now constitutes the most progressive class, whose interest fully harmonises with those of society at large, and accordingly it alone can take the mantle to liberate human society, from the exploitative system of capitalism.

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